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250,000 miles of railroads in this country, with 2,000,000 employees, the fact is that strikes on the interstate railroads are negligible. This is true in spite of the fact that the mediators have no authority. In case of difficulties, sometimes the employees, sometimes the employers, sometimes both, apply to this board to use their offices for the composition of the disputes. The parties are never brought together. The decisions are made upon the free will of those concerned. The results have thus far invariably been agreeable. The board finds that in the majority of cases the employer wishes to be fair, the employee wishes to be fair, yet, in spite

of these facts, they find themselves wide apart as the poles. The question before the board comes at once, therefore, to be—What is right? By the methods which the board has found effective, the issues are defined, the problems clarified, and the difficulties settled. The board aims simply to represent the public interests, and asks continuously one question: How can this difficulty be settled? That the controversies are settled, and without any show of force, is one of the most encouraging social facts we know. Mediation and conciliation can be made to work. We know it, because by these methods they do work.

EDITORIAL NOTES

The American Institute of International Law at Havana.

The Second Annual Meeting of the American Institute of International Law was held in Havana, Cuba, beginning January 22. Projects relating to the fundamental bases of international law, of laws especially applicable to the American continent and relating to maritime neutrality, were presented to the institute by the general secretary, Alejandro Alvarez.

Expressing sincere regret that official duties prevented him from being present at the sessions of the institute "in which I am so deeply interested," and "to be a member of which is a distinguished honor," Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, wrote among other things to the president of the institute, Dr. James Brown Scott, as follows:

"It will not be presumptuous, I trust, to call the attention of the members of the institute to the memorandum, which I had the honor to submit on January 3, 1916, at the first annual meeting, and which suggests the propriety of careful consideration of neutral rights and duties from the point of view of the neutrals. Though I realize that, during the continuance of the great international conflict in Europe, definite declarations should be avoided by the institute, the time would seem to be opportune, while concrete cases are in the minds of the members, to exchange views on the various phases of neutrality and possible means of alleviating in the future the burdens which grow more heavy and vexatious the longer the present state of war lasts. I hope that it may be found possible to do this, as I believe that it would result in the contribution of much valuable thought by men learned in the law of nations and qualified to solve the perplexing problems which are daily presented to those who are charged with the conduct of the foreign affairs of the American republics."

After a tribute to *Cuba Libre* and to the twentieth day of May, 1902, when the American flag was lowered and the American troops withdrew from "a sovereign,

free, and independent Cuba," President Scott, in his opening address, referred to the relations between Cuba and the United States, and said: "If the nations meet upon terms of equality and base their relations upon principles of justice, and if in good faith they keep the pledged word, we may expect peace. . . . We must think more of justice and the ways of peace, and less of force and the ways of war." The address then proceeded to consider "three things as indispensable." These are: We must "regard all nations as equals;" second, the relations of nations must "be based upon principles of justice;" third, the promises of nations, whether they be embodied in formal documents, such as treaties and conventions, or preserved in informal agreements, must "be scrupulously kept." President Scott then proceeded to lay before the institute for their approval and adoption the ten proposals set forth in his article, "The Organization of International Justice," which appeared in the January number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

By its adoption of the Rights and Duties of Nations at its meeting one year ago, the American Institute of International Law phrased the principles which constitute the point of departure for the nations in their upward climb toward a more rational intercourse. By urging the call of a Third Hague Conference, the stated meeting of The Hague Peace Conferences, the appointment of a committee to make possible the observance of its conventions and declarations, the creation of an international council of conciliation, the employment of good offices, mediation and friendly composition, the approval of the principle of arbitration, and the creation of the judicial union of the nations, the American Institute of International Law has now phrased the goal toward which the nations need most to strive, now and for a long hereafter.

**Conclusions of
an English
Scholar.**

Prof. L. P. Jacks, principal of Manchester College, England, and editor of the *Hibbert Journal* since its foundation, has an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, entitled "The Insane Root." The article begins with a picture of a young English officer who has returned to his home from many narrow escapes for a short furlough. The general impression of the officer, who was soon to return to the scene of danger, concerning all we read about the shocking things that have happened along the battle front is, that what men write cannot be "shocking." He adds: "You should see what men *do*. You should see what they *suffer*. Oh, how I wish they would all shut up!"

Mr. Jacks says:

"And what shall we say of our views of the world? Take the worst of them, and suppose the world to be utterly and irremediably given over to the devil. What follows? Surely this—that the devil is an unspeakable idiot. Hell does not make war upon itself. It makes war upon heaven: it conserves its own forces for the destruction of its opposite. This may be immoral, but in point of sanity there is no comparison with the spectacle before us. No devil has ever been constructed by the human imagination who would not look upon such proceedings with proud contempt. Gehenna itself seems to turn its back upon us."

In previous articles the author had concluded that human nature is responsible for this war. He now believes it all to be a vast exhibition of insanity, "not amenable to the categories either of evil or of good." He conceives now that human nature has been dragged into this business against its will, and that it is State-nature, and not human nature, "which is rightly responsible for all this deviltry." This State-nature is conspicuous for, first, its "internal wisdom," and, second, its "external stupidity." In the language of a German prisoner, "a spell has been cast over human nature. We are all mad together."

"If five peaceable States have in their midst a sixth State which chooses to arm itself to the teeth for aggression—a design all the more promising in view of the peaceable intentions of its neighbors—the five have no resource but to arm themselves in the same way, and when all the six are armed to the teeth together, a general mêlée becomes sooner or later inevitable, no matter what diplomacy may do to keep the peace." Therefore, the first duty of States is to "divest themselves of their character as fighting units. A federation composed of fighting units cannot do otherwise than fight. . . . To divest themselves of their fighting character is the first object for which the States are to come together." The tremendous effort required is "to turn one's back on the whole idolatrous State-worship, with its rites and mummeries, which has held possession of us for

ages. . . . With human nature there is nothing fundamentally wrong, but with State-nature there is something fundamentally wrong."

The foolishness of most of what we say about this war, the supreme devilry of it all, the wild insanity of interstate relations, and the inevitable new order which is the hope of all our effort, they are here before us in this illuminating expression by one who, though close to the war, is not wholly blinded by it.

**The Coordination
of Peace
Efforts.**

As reported heretofore in these columns, the disposition among the peace workers to cooperate is increasing. At the meeting of the peace workers in New York, October 26-27, a continuation committee of nine was appointed for two purposes: first, to distribute the questionnaire planned for by the conference and to tabulate the results; second, to provide for another and larger conference of peace workers.

At the meeting of the continuation committee in New York, January 5, Secretary Gulick reported the results obtained from the distribution of the questionnaire, after which it was voted that he be empowered to write a personal letter to those who had not yet replied, urging that their replies be sent in at once. Dr. Lynch, Dr. Gulick, and Miss Neuhaus were appointed a committee to complete the report on the questionnaire and to attend to its distribution. It was further voted that, in view of the fact that the American Peace Society is taking steps to call a joint meeting of the peace forces of the country, this be considered as meeting the desire of the conference which was held at the Broadway Tabernacle, and that, therefore, with the completion of the report on the questionnaire, the work of the continuation committee cease. The motion was amended by adding the words, "with the understanding that steps be taken to form a permanent body to coordinate the work of the different peace organizations."

In accordance with the spirit of this motion, the American Peace Society has already taken steps toward the organization of a conference in New York City, February 22. This conference, while the details are not yet completed, will certainly be held at the Hotel Biltmore, beginning the forenoon of February 22. This will enable the conferees to attend the luncheon of the World's Court League, and at 4 p. m. to unite with them in a conference on the program of the pacifists.

The various notes relating to the present war, the growing belief in the necessity for a more enlightened organization of the Society of Nations than the world has heretofore known, and the crystallization of sentiment in opposition to war as a means of settling international disputes, make more nearly possible a wider and more sensible cooperative effort on the part of the

accredited peace agencies of the nation. The various peace societies may rest assured that the American Peace Society will bend every effort to promote the mutual understanding of the peace workers and the realization of the aims for which they can together stand.

**Bringing
Preparedness
Home.**

It is claimed for universal military service that it is democratic, because through it all the population, and not merely the scattered few, are trained and inured to the hardships of war, prepared to take their place in the nation's sixth line of defense at a moment's notice. But is it, after all, true democracy to train the nation's youth alone to this end? Viewing the situation in Europe, we see that the soldiers at the front are but a part of each nation's defense. Back of our sixth line of defense comes the Landsturm and Landwehr, and back of them again perhaps the greatest strength of the nation—the army of women, children, and old men upon whom falls the burden of the running cost of war, keeping the nation on its feet and supplied with the necessities of warfare. Is it true democracy to leave these important supporters out of preparedness? If we are to have a war scare in this country, why not have a good one? Why not face *all* the demands that will be made upon us when two millions of Germans or Japanese or Laplanders are landed on our shores? To this end a small publication named *War* offers valuable suggestions, of which we are glad to quote a few:

Teach mother to make sour dough bread; keep meats without ice; nurse babies without milk; set the table without groceries; make her own clothes, and believe that war is necessary and inevitable to every nation's health and welfare.

Let father do the family cooking in the backyard, over an open fire, for a winter month or two. It will teach him how to bivouac successfully.

To gain ruggedness—roll up in blankets on your back porch; cut your daily rations in half and drink unfiltered city water.

To develop alertness, set an alarm each midnight, dress and run a mile and back, as if in readiness to repel night attacks.

For trench practise, join the city sewer gang and dig in.

For aeroplane experience ride your roof ridge at night in pajamas. This will accustom you to the severe cold of great altitudes.

Teach your boys instant and implicit obedience. Frequent thrashings may save future court-martials.

Train the girls for nursing; also for planting and harvesting of crops.

Contribute half your family income to the city for a year or two, imagining it is a war tax.

For bayonet practise, buy lively pigs or calves and chase them about a field with a sharp carving knife. Practise slashing and jabbing for the heart. It will ac-

custom you to drawing blood from flesh and train your stomach for war's most critical moments.

**Would Universal
Military
Service Pay?**

The discussion of universal military service threatens to occupy attention as widely as did the excitement over preparedness some months ago. It might be supposed, from many of the wildly enthusiastic statements in its favor, that it is intended to result in our principal means of defense against the enemies that, to the view of some, lurk on every hand and threaten our very existence. As a matter of fact, its place in our scheme of defense would be relatively negligible. This should be considered when we are counting the cost in advance. Defensive operations in every nation are presumed to offer definite lines of resistance to the invader. In this country we have five definite lines of defense for our protection, before the employment of a "citizen army," such as the universal military service proponents would secure, becomes necessary. Briefly, these are:

1. Our intangible defense, consisting of our peace-loving disposition, our "habit" of keeping the peace, our reputation for not being an aggrandizing or imperialistic nation, our diplomacy, our arbitration treaties, our value (commercially) to the world as a non-warring nation.

2. Our geographical defense, consisting of two broad oceans, a peaceful neighbor to the north and friendly and comparatively weak nations to the south.

3. Our navy, characterized by Admiral Victor Blue as "more efficient today than ever before," and recently augmented to an unprecedented extent by Congressional appropriation.

4. Our coast defenses, submarines, harbor mines, etc., which General Weaver, of the Sea-coast Artillery Corps, calls "the best in the world," and which also have been recently augmented.

5. Our army, mobile, well-trained, capable of vast improvement in efficiency if we earnestly desire to improve it.

After all these comes the "citizen army"—our sixth line of defense! It is what we are to fall back upon when our cordial relations with all the nations of the earth, our diplomacy, our arbitration treaties, our geographical position of immunity, our navy, our coast defenses, and our standing army are all frustrated and have failed. And this, with due notice of the fact that our first and second lines of defense are superior to those of any other nation on earth. In Switzerland, whose "citizen army" idea it is proposed that we borrow, that army is the third line of defense. There they have, first, the mountain barrier; second, the standing army. No other nation of Europe has more than two lines of defense that may legitimately be said to be prior to the citizen army. The most belligerent nation of Europe

possesses no sixth line of defense, unless it be, perhaps, the women in the munitions factories.

It is well, in considering whether this proposed vast scheme of defense would pay us, to consider what the cost of it is—not in money, but in values vastly more important. Professor Dewey, speaking before the Senate Military Affairs Sub-committee, January 15, characterized universal military service for this nation as constituting “a break in the history of America,” a point that was elaborated in the words of a later speaker as “necessitating a reconsideration of our national ideals and relegating them inevitably to a lower level.” Conscriptio is not a piece of armor that may be donned or left off at will. Once “put on,” it entails a new conception of patriotism, a new attitude of mind of the citizen towards his country. This new attitude of compulsory national service is not superior to our traditional attitude in true patriotism, nor does it inspire towards intelligent and free service of the individual for the good of his country. Were it necessary to protect the existence of this country, to preserve it from extinction, it might, bad as it is, be justifiably supported. But to undergo this abnegation of the ancient ideals of a free America, in order merely to assure ourselves of a sixth line of defense against an imaginary foe, is too great a price to pay.

**A Soldier
Courtmarshalls
His Country.**

“Am I at home?” asks a bewildered British officer, in a remarkable letter to the London *Nation*, remarking upon the England that he returns to, but cannot reconcile with that England from which he went forth to endure the heart-break and hardship of the front. “I feel like a visitor among strangers whose intentions are kindly, but whose modes of thought I neither altogether understand nor altogether approve. . . . You seem ashamed, as if they were a kind of weakness, of the ideas which sent us to France, and for which thousands of sons and lovers have died. You calculate the profits to be derived from ‘War After War’ as though the unspeakable agonies of the Somme were an item in a commercial proposition. You make us feel that the country to which we’ve returned is not the country for which we went out to fight! And your reticence as to the obvious physical facts of war! And your ignorance as to the sentiments of your relations about it! . . . The fact is, we’ve drifted apart. We have slaved for Rachel, but it looks as if we’d got to live with Leah. . . . We see things which you can only imagine. We are strengthened by reflections which you have abandoned. . . . There has been invented a kind of conventional soldier, whose emotions and ideas are those

which you find it most easy to assimilate with your coffee and marmalade. . . . Do you not see that we regard these men who have sat opposite us in mud as the victims of the same catastrophe as ourselves, as our comrades in misery much more truly than you are? Do you think that we are like some of you in accumulating on the head of every wretched antagonist the indignation felt for the wickedness of a government, of a social system, or (if you will) of a nation? . . . Of your soldiers’ internal life, the constant collision of contradictory moral standards, the liability of the soul to be crushed by mechanical monotony, the difficulty of keeping hold of sources of refreshment, the sensation of taking a profitless part in a game played by monkeys and organized by lunatics, you realize, I think, nothing. . . . Behind the picture of war given in your papers there sometimes seems to lurk something worse than, yet allied to, this untruthfulness, a horrible suggestion that war is somehow, after all, ennobling; that, if not the proper occupation of man, it is at least one in which he finds a fulness of self-expression impossible in peace; that when clothed in khaki and carrying rifles these lads are more truly ‘men’ than they were when working in offices or factories. . . . I reflect upon the friends who, after suffering various degrees of torture, died in the illusion that war was not the last word of Christian wisdom. And I have a sensation as of pointed ears and hairy paws and a hideous ape face grinning into mine—sin upon sin, misery upon misery, to the end of the world. Oh! gentle public—for you were gentle once, and may be so again—put all these illusions from your mind. The reality is horrible, but it is not so horrible as the grimacing phantom which you have imagined. Your soldiers are neither so foolish nor so brave nor so wicked as the mechanical dolls who grin and kill and grin in the columns of your newspapers. . . . *Pone te ipsum in pace, et tum poteris alios pacificare.*”

Upon this, little comment is needed. We have our own grimacing phantoms, our own coffee-and-marmalade warriors, our own way of regarding the lives of men and of nations as items in a commercial transaction. We can take all this directly to heart, remembering, as this writer makes indubitably clear, that war is noble only in the sacred illusions for which the man at the front dies. In all the putrid mass of fear, suspicion, bullying, ignorance, prejudice, blindness, and shifting of just responsibility out of which war is engendered, only the common soldier sees the issue clear—service, the gift of suffering and life itself, to something greater than himself. Fortunate is he if fate does not permit him to come back, to find the ugly truth for which he has paid the price!

American Peace Society's Program. At the semi-annual meeting of the Directors of the American Peace Society, held at the Hotel Raleigh, Washington, D. C., January 20, 1917, the following significant and self-explanatory restatement of the program of the Society was adopted by unanimous vote:

1. The calling of a Third Hague Peace Conference at the earliest practicable time.
2. The provision for the future of regular periodical meetings of such Conference.
3. The creation of a permanent international body to issue the call for future Conferences, to prepare the program, and to make all necessary arrangements therefor.
4. The institution of a permanent committee of the Conference charged with the duty of procuring ratifications of the Conventions and Declarations of the Conference and of calling the attention of the signatory powers to such acts, to the end that the same may be observed by them.
5. The acceptance by all civilized States of the principles of international law as set forth in the Declaration of Rights and Duties of Nations, adopted by the American Institute of International Law, January 6, 1916.
6. The creation of an international council of conciliation to consider and make report on disputes of a non-justiciable character, which may be submitted to it by the nations concerned.
7. The wider employment of good offices, mediation, and friendly composition by neutral Powers for the settlement of international disputes.
8. The extension of the principle of arbitration in the settlement of international disputes.
9. The formation of a judicial union of all civilized nations, the members of which shall be pledged to submit all their justiciable disputes to a permanent court of the union and to abide by its decisions.
10. The creation of an enlightened public opinion in behalf of peaceable settlement in general, and in particular in behalf of the methods above recommended, in order that these may be put into practice and become effective under the greatest of sanctions, "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

School Children's Pan American Alliance. The proposal to start systematic correspondence between school children of this country and Argentina and other South American countries, made in these columns some time ago, has received gratifying response from many quarters. In Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and several other cities, newspaper notice has been given the scheme and efforts made to inaugurate it on a considerable scale. The best success has been attained where the effort has been to have the correspondence started between schools, rather than between individual children. This has assured not only keen interest on the part of the participants, but some promise of continuity and permanence of the correspondence. Sr. Naón, Ambassador from Argentina, has shown considerable interest in the plan, and has rendered valuable assistance. Several United States consuls in various South American countries have also lent their aid. Principals of schools, preferably of high schools, or other educators who wish to sponsor such a correspondence on the part of their pupils, should write to the American Peace

Society for information or to offer such suggestions as they may wish to make.

MR. JAMES MOTT HALLOWELL, former assistant attorney-general of Massachusetts and chairman of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Branch of the League to Enforce Peace, gives reasons for the "weakness" of the Hague Tribunals. "There is no force, there is no compelling power to compel any nation to place its cause before this tribunal for a hearing. Any nation may make a treaty, and then break it with impunity." If Mr. Hallowell conceives of a court of international arbitration or conciliation as a police court, he naturally conceives it necessary to have a policeman. Will he not also need a penitentiary, and perhaps an international gallows as well?

EVEN granting—as we would be far from willing to do—that it is impossible to trust in either God or man, yet the stark, wild-eyed, panic fear of some of our good fellow-citizens is a trifle disgusting. In the midst of great, peaceful America, for instance, the American Defense Society leaps forth with this brazen-throated cry:

"Universal military training of the youth of the country and of men of military age, according to the principles of the Moseley and Chamberlain bills!

"The immediate acquisition of a reserve supply of rifles, uniforms, machine guns, mobile artillery, and ammunition sufficient to equip an army of at least one million men!

"The immediate establishment of a chain of fortified coaling stations in our five groups of islands stretching from the Pacific coast to the Philippine Islands!

"The preservation of the naval petroleum reserves!"

WANTED—Opposition to this country's joining an alliance to secure peace by war, which does not necessarily deprecate abandoning our policy of isolation (which is already abandoned) or drag in Washington's advice against joining "entangling alliances" (addressed to a nation not yet out of swaddling clothes). Wanted—A committee of penologists, psychologists, and historians to convince the allied governments that punishment is destructive, and not constructive, and that there are other guarantees of good faith than total annihilation. Wanted—A United States Congress that, in the time of greatest stress and most desperate need for broad vision and clear thinking, can rise above "pork" and pusillanimous personalities. Wanted—Any group of people who can work for peace without necessarily forming a new "society," "committee," or "league," and spending nine-tenths of their efforts in explaining wherein their organization differs from all other identical organizations.